



CCF

Program

FOR SASKATCHEWAN



* The C.C.F. Program For Saskatchewan

The Saskatchewan C.C.F. Provincial Program may be conveniently considered under the following four main heads: (1) Provision of Security for the People in their Homes and Jobs; (2) Provision of Social Services (Old Age Pensions, Health Services, etc.); (3) Provision of Educational Opportunity and Guarantee of Democratic Rights; (4) Public Ownership, Planned Development of Natural Resources, and Finance. While no aspect of the program can be rigidly separated from other aspects, and while all are equally important, the above is the order in which a C.C.F. Government in Saskatchewan might be expected to introduce its program.

I. PROVISION OF SECURITY

This problem has two main aspects: (A) Farm Security; (B) Urban Security. That means security for the workers on the farms and security for the workers in towns and cities.

A. FARM SECURITY

Insecurity for farmers in Saskatchewan may be summed up in two words, debt and eviction. The farmers of Saskatchewan struggle under an enormous burden of debt. In 1900 farms in the province were practically free of debt; in 1940 the Saskatchewan farm debt amounted to approximately 600 million dollars. In addition, according to the Saskatchewan Government Brief to the Rowell-Sifois Commission, Saskatchewan farms lacked 200 million dollars worth of equipment, supplies and replacements. That is, in 1940 the farmers of Saskatchewan needed 800 million dollars to pay their debts, replace their equipment, and keep up their homes. Eight hundred million dollars was their net deficit after forty years' work!



Some scaling down of debts has been accomplished under the Boards of Review set up by the Federal Government. Between 1935 and 1941 the Boards reduced the debts of 6,338 farmers from a total of 60 millions to a total of 34 millions. This was a welcome reduction, but it touched only the fringe of the problem, because there are some 140,000 farmers in Saskatchewan and at least 100,000 of these need debt adjustment. In 1940 two Boards of Review considered 1,683 cases. If this rate were speeded up to 2,000 cases a year, it would still take the Boards fifty years to consider all the cases that need attention. Furthermore, many of the debts already adjusted will have to be adjusted again.

Meanwhile foreclosures continue. In 1940 the Saskatchewan Debt Adjustment Board permitted 753 foreclosures, in 1941 it permitted 830, in 1942 it permitted 741. The fact is that the farms of Saskatchewan are passing into the hands of mortgage and loan companies, and farmers are becoming tenants rather than owners. In an unanimous statement of June 17, 1942, the Saskatchewan Co-operative Conference warned that land tenancy will rapidly increase unless drastic measures are taken to protect farm debtors. "Revision of the entire farm debt structure must take place without further delay if the West is to survive within an agricultural economy."

To provide protection and security for farmers on their land, a C.C.F. Government in Saskatchewan will take the following steps:

(a) It will stop foreclosure on and eviction from the farm home. Year after year the C.C.F. group in the Saskatchewan Legislature has asked that foreclosures be prohibited on the quarter section upon which the farm home is situated. But the Government majority has regularly voted down even this small measure of protection. A C.C.F. Government will go further than this; one of its first acts will be to use its legislative power to prevent the eviction of Saskatchewan farmers and thereby give to them security on their farms.

(b) It will introduce legislation to protect them from seizure of that portion of a farmer's crop that is needed to provide for his family. In the 1943 Session of the Saskatchewan Legislature the C.C.F. group tried to have the Limitation of Civil Rights Act amended so that the farmer might keep the first ten bushels of the marketable portion of his crop to provide for the needs of his family. The amendment was, of course, rejected by the Liberal Government. A C.C.F. Government will by legislation provide that the farmer shall have enough of his crop to buy necessities for his family and pay his bills to his local merchant.

(c) It will use the power of debt moratorium (that is, of suspension or postponement) to force the loan and mortgage companies to reduce debts and mortgages to a figure at which they can reasonably be paid at prevailing prices for farm products. The C.C.F. believes that every settlement of farm debts at a reduced figure must take into consideration: (i) the terms of the original contract; (ii) the instalments of principal which have been paid; (iii) the rate of interest, and the payments of interest which have been made; and (iv) crop conditions and prices prevailing during the term of operation of the contract. Every settlement, that is, must recognize the farmer's effort over the years and must protect his equity in his land. The C.C.F. will set up the appropriate machinery to make these settlements and call a halt to foreclosures while the settlements are being worked out.

(d) It will prevent accumulation of new debt. All existing land contracts will have to be redrawn, and new ones drafted, in such a way as to protect the farmer as well as the creditor. The C.C.F. proposes that every

contract shall provide that in any year in which the farm income falls below six dollars an acre (i) there shall be no interest chargeable; (ii) there shall be no instalment of principal payable, and (iii) the length of the contract shall be extended one year. In this way debtor and creditor will share the burden of crop failure or loss, and the crushing weight of accumulating interest debt will be lifted from Saskatchewan farm homes. Only so can we deliver our countryside from poverty, discouragement, and the haunting fear of insecurity.

(c) It will encourage the development of the co-operative movement. The C.C.F. has always recognized that the social and economic objective of the co-operative movement is the same as its own, namely to replace capitalism and the profit system by community ownership for the common good. The C.C.F. looks forward to the day when the people of the province will own co-operatively all the means of supplying their every-day needs. Everywhere in the province now C.C.F. people are working and leading in the job of advancing co-operative enterprises; C.C.F. Members of Parliament and Legislature and other C.C.F. leaders have consistently supported the Wheat Pool's agricultural program; and in the Saskatchewan Legislature C.C.F. members have asked repeatedly that the Government shall buy all the supplies it can from the co-operative associations. This attitude is significant of the encouragement and support that a C.C.F. Government will give to the co-operative movement.

(f) It will press for the closing of the Winnipeg Grain Exchange and the setting of parity prices for agricultural products: C.C.F. Conventions have repeatedly expressed the view that there ought not to be speculation in food and that therefore the Grain Exchange ought to be abolished. Instead, the marketing of all agricultural products should be conducted by appropriate Marketing Boards upon which the producers should have majority representation. These Marketing Boards should then purchase all farm products at parity prices. Parity prices are those which will bring the farmers their fair share of the total national income and enable them to buy the clothing and furniture, the farm implements and equipment, the lumber and fuel, etc., they need. Thus, if farmers make up one-third of the Canadian population, parity prices are prices that will bring the farmers of Canada approximately one-third of the national income.

B. URBAN SECURITY

Security for the farmer means tenure of his farm, freedom from debt, and fair prices for what he produces; security for the worker in town and city means regular employment, adequate wages, and a voice in determining the condition under which he works. The C.C.F. from the day of its foundation has been a Farmer-Labor party; it exists to bring economic justice both to farmers and urban workers. It is very important that farmers and urban workers should have an understanding of each other's problems, so that they may



work together in a common political movement for their common good. The time-honored strategy of the capitalist press and propagandists is to play off farmers and urban workers against each other, to drive a wedge between them, to make them suspicious of and hostile towards each other. Actually they have a common enemy in the financial and industrial "Big Shots" who exploit both farmer and urban worker and take the cream off their productive work. Actually each stands to gain by the other's victories; when city workers have larger incomes, they can buy more of the farmer's products; when farmers have larger incomes, they can buy more of the products of industry. And both need better housing, better health services, better educational services, which are impossible so long as the economic life of the country is conducted in the interests of privileged groups. That farmers and urban workers can work together for the improvement of their common lot is shown by the accomplishment of the Labor Government of New Zealand, which has provided better wages for labor and better prices for farmers and better social services all around. In C.C.F. Parliamentary and Legislative Groups farmer Members and labor Members work harmoniously together in support of a fair deal for labor and a fair deal for farmers. A C.C.F. Government will do the same.

Union Organization: It is vital to the welfare of workers that they shall have freedom to organize in labor unions of their own choosing. That has been their experience from the beginning of the Industrial Revolution until now. An urban worker standing alone and making arrangements with his employer as to pay, hours of work, or conditions of work, is quite helpless. The power is overwhelmingly on one side; the worker is almost entirely at the mercy of the employer. From that bitter experience, oft repeated, has come the realization among workers that they must get together in a labor union, pool their small individual bargaining powers, and **collectively** present their case for better pay or better working conditions. That is called **collective bargaining**. Wherever and whenever urban workers organize themselves in strong unions and bargain collectively, invariably they get a higher standard of living; wherever and whenever there are no unions and no collective bargaining, invariably men and women work and live in deplorable conditions. This has been true and is true to this day in Great Britain, the United States, Canada, and other countries.

Sometimes employers refuse to allow their workers to form labor unions, or refuse to deal with the officers or representatives chosen by the union members. Sometimes they "fire" men who try to organize a union or who are known to be active members of a union. Sometimes employers will set up unions under their own guidance and control. These are called "company unions." They are of no use to workers, of course, because they do not represent the freely expressed desires of the workers. These considerations explain why the C.C.F. has always said that urban workers must have the right, guaranteed by law, to form unions of their own choice without hindrance or penalty of any kind from employers; in fact that it should be against the law for employers to ~~interfere~~ with this fundamental right of union organization.

Collective Bargaining: Obviously there is no one more seriously affected by conditions of work and pay in any industry than the men and women who put in their working days in the mine, shop, or factory. Their welfare and happiness and that of their families is determined by the number of dollars in the pay envelope, the sanitation of the shop or factory, the safety or danger of machinery and equipment, and many other similar things. Surely, then, in a society calling itself democratic these men and women must have the right to send their representatives to discuss with employers or management any matter which affects their well-being, and employers or management must be willing to listen to the representatives of their employees. That is why the first clause in the C.C.F. Labor Policy says: "The C.C.F. will make it compulsory for employers to enter into collective bargaining with the labor union selected by the majority of their employees."

The Minimum Wage: The minimum wage is to urban workers what parity prices are to farmers: a guarantee that their income will not be entirely at the mercy of the market. The Minimum Wage Act of Saskatchewan provides for **certain groups of workers** a guarantee that their wages shall not fall below a certain minimum. The C.C.F. believes that these minimum figures are too low and that other groups of workers ought to have the protection of the Act. A C.C.F. Government will therefore "increase the rates of wages established by the Minimum Wage Board and will take action to enforce their payment and to extend the Act to protect the employees in other low-paid industries."

Workmen's Compensation: If workmen in **certain industries** are injured in the performance of their work, the Workmen's Compensation Act provides that they shall receive certain benefits while they are absent from work. But it provides also that these benefits shall not begin until after an injured workman has been absent three days from his job, and that his compensation shall be only two-thirds of his regular wage. The C.C.F. believes that the three-day waiting period should be eliminated, that the compensation should be raised, and that **all workers** should be brought within the scope of the Act.

Labor Representation: The C.C.F. believes that workers are entitled to representation on all boards and commissions and similar bodies that deal with labor matters. It will therefore appoint workers' representatives to such bodies, after consultation with the official organizations of the Trade Union Movement.

The C.C.F. will also set up a Department of Labor in any C.C.F. Government and put a Minister of Labor in charge of this Department.

II. PROVISION OF SOCIAL SERVICES

A. HEALTH FOR ALL



Socialized Health Services. Under the heading of social services the first and most pressing problem for a C.C.F. Government to tackle is that of providing health services for the people of Saskatchewan. Everybody knows that existing health services are entirely inadequate. Many parts of the province have not enough doctors, dentists, nurses, hospitals, and medical equipment to provide for the people. But even where the services are available, most of us have not the money to pay for them. Because of this, people only too often go without the medical attention they need, and the result is much physical pain, mental distress, and premature death. One can only guess at the appalling amount of waste and suffering this means and has meant. Furthermore, preventive medicine is almost completely neglected. Surely we would prefer that doctors and nurses should **prevent** us from becoming sick rather than **cure** us after we become sick. Why then not encourage them to work at the prevention of illness, and pay them well for doing so?

For these reasons the C.C.F. proposes to set up a complete system of socialized health services with special emphasis on preventive medicine, so that everybody in the province will receive adequate medical, surgical, dental, nursing, and hospital care without charge. Necessarily the details of such a system will have to be worked out in consultation with, and upon the advice of, specialists in public health administration. The Saskatchewan State Hospital and Medical League (which has its headquarters in Regina) has carried on a considerable amount of research into the details of a plan for bringing health services to all Saskatchewan residents, and will be glad to share the information it has gathered. While the C.C.F. is not committed to the support of the League's plan, the C.C.F. commends the work the League has done and approves the careful study of its plan.

The establishment of a complete network of health services covering all parts of the province will undoubtedly take considerable time, but a C.C.F. Government will immediately begin to provide such a network. It will provide minimum services at once, perhaps by means of travelling health clinics, and extend these services on a permanent basis as rapidly as possible. In the working out of its health plans the C.C.F. will seek the support and co-operation of the members of the medical, dental, and nursing professions; and will hope to get this. But it may, of course, have to rely mainly on the younger doctors and nurses with a more progressive viewpoint than that of some of the older members of the professions; and for the full success of its plan it may have to wait upon the training of those young men and women who would like a chance to become doctors, nurses, etc., but who have hitherto been prevented by lack of money from getting

the training which would enable them to make their most effective contribution to society. That is, the C.C.F. will have to extend greatly the educational opportunities of young men and women to be doctors, dentists, and nurses.

Finally, under this heading, it must be noted that the C.C.F. proposes that socialized health services shall be provided under a non-partisan, non-political administration. This is of paramount importance. The health of the people is far too important to be made a political football. Everyone concerned with carrying out a system of health services must be chosen for ability and competence, and not for political reasons. We have a good example of a non-political administration of one health service now in the Board of Directors of the Saskatchewan Anti-Tuberculosis League which operates our Tuberculosis Sanatoria. The C.C.F. proposes that that good example shall be followed in the provision of all health services.

B. SOCIAL PROVISION FOR THE AGED AND INCAPACITATED

Old Age Pensions: About all that needs to be said on this subject is that the present scale of old age pensions is a scandal and an insult—a scandal to a country calling itself democratic, and an insult to aged people, who have given years of productive work to society and then have found themselves destitute at the end of life's road.

Old Age Pension legislation is under the authority of the Federal Government, but the cost of pensions is shared by the Federal and Provincial Governments. The C.C.F. will press the Federal Government to increase the amount of the pension and to make it available at age 65 instead of 70 as at present. If necessary, the C.C.F. will act alone to raise the amount of the pension.

Other Pensions: The C.C.F. believes that pensions should be provided not only for the aged but for all who are unable to care for themselves: the crippled, the deaf, and others who are physically handicapped. Some provision, although an inadequate one, is made now for the blind. The C.C.F. believes that adequate provision should be made for all whose physical handicaps prevent them from doing all the work they would like to do. The ground for this is human brotherhood, the fact that all are members of one human family. Edward Bellamy in *Looking Backward* puts the point well when he makes his character, Dr. Leete, ask:

"If you had a sick brother at home, unable to work, would you feed him on less dainty food, and lodge and clothe him more poorly, than yourself? More likely far, you would give him the preference; nor would you think of calling it charity."

"The C.C.F. will provide also that pensions, old age pensions, and others, shall not be chargeable, as now, against the pensioner's property. That is, if a pensioner has been able to acquire, say, a home for himself, he shall not have to surrender the title to that home because he receives a pension.

C. PROVISION FOR CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE

1. **Mothers' Allowances:** Under the present legislation in Saskatchewan mothers of families whose breadwinner has been removed by death or desertion may receive an allowance for each of the children up to sixteen years of age. No grant is made for a mother's own maintenance; the allowance is made only for each child. The C.C.F. maintains that the allowance is too small to permit a mother to give the children the care they ought to have, and the C.C.F. is pledged to increase the amount of the allowances.

2. **Child Protection:** If they have no relatives or friends to care for them, children who are orphaned or deserted become wards of the Province. They come under the care of the Bureau of Child Protection, which is placed, for reasons not easy to fathom, under the administration of the Provincial Minister of Highways! Unfortunately, too, the Bureau of Child Protection has a largely untrained personnel appointed usually for political reasons. There ought, of course, to be trained social workers in this Bureau. Neglected and dependent children ought to be placed in foster homes by skilled child placement officers, and there ought to be trained workers to follow up the placements with frequent supervisory visits to the foster homes.

Twice in recent years the Community Council of Saskatoon, representing 28 welfare organizations, has asked the Provincial Government to have a survey of the child welfare situation made by an outside independent body like the Canadian Welfare Council. This request has not been granted. The C.C.F. is pledged to take public welfare agencies, like the Bureau of Child Protection, out of politics and to engage trained and competent social workers in every branch of the social services.

3. **Adult Education in Child Welfare:** Most parents want to give their children the best sort of upbringing possible, but frequently fail to do so because of their lack of knowledge of the basic physical and psychological needs of children. The C.C.F. proposes to sponsor adult education classes in the care of children and in child psychology, so that parents may learn to help their children grow up, physically, mentally, and emotionally, to a healthy maturity.

4. **Vocational Guidance:** Most young people need some help in finding out the directions in which their talents lie and some advice as to the line of work for which they are best suited. That sort of discovery and advice

is called Vocational Guidance. If there were more of it, there would be fewer square pegs in round holes, fewer people, that is, doing jobs they have no aptitude for. That is why the C.C.F. stands for Vocational Guidance Clinics, places where young people may go and find out, under the helpful direction of people trained in guidance, the place in the work of society where they are most likely to be useful and happy.

5. **Youth Training:** Before the outbreak of the war in 1939 the C.C.F. group in the Provincial Legislature had urged that the Provincial Government provide training and work for unemployed young people. Here is a typical motion:

"That this Assembly favors the establishment of a department organized to carry out the employment and training of youth in self-liquidating work and wage projects."

This was defeated by the Government majority.

With the outbreak of war we had a feverish development of youth training schemes to supply workers for war factories. If there can be youth training schemes to supply workers for war, why not youth training for peace? First training must be made available, and then work must be provided for those who are trained. This matter of youth training is bound up with the development of our natural resources and plans for post-war reconstruction. During the war there is no unemployment; all the young people are urgently needed. But what of the aftermath? The C.C.F. says that if we intend to develop our natural resources, and if we intend to engage in a vast building program after the war, then it is time now to begin making plans for the work and for the training of those who will do the work. Hence the C.C.F. advocacy of youth training and of planning for post-war reconstruction.

D. TREATMENT OF WRONGDOERS

The C.C.F. believes that crime against person and property is mainly the fruits of our capitalist society. Where society feels little or no responsibility to see that every child grows up in a healthful environment, that every boy and girl has wholesome recreation and outlets for his or her energy, that every young person has a chance to get the training best calculated to fit him to be a useful citizen, and every adult a chance to work at a satisfying and remunerative job, then and there may we expect crime to flourish. When society does feel responsibility for the above and sets out to provide them, then we may expect crime to diminish. In the meantime, what shall we do with those who fall into the clutches of the courts because they have offended against the laws of the land? How shall we treat wrongdoers?

The C.C.F. believes that for young offenders we ought to introduce the Borstal System so successfully used in Great Britain. The Borstal System has the following main features:

- (i) It segregates youthful offenders from older or habitual offenders, and sends the former to an entirely separate place of detention;
- (ii) It tries to create in the place of detention the atmosphere of a school rather than that of a jail, and trains the youthful offender for a useful job;
- (iii) It finds the youthful offender a job at the end of his training period and gives him a sympathetic guidance until he is established as a useful citizen.

The C.C.F. believes that the same or similar principles ought to be applied for the reclaiming of our older offenders as well. The C.C.F. therefore stands for the reform of our penal system so that the treatment in jails becomes redemptive rather than retaliatory. Instead of setting out to punish people we shall set out to reclaim them. Our object will be to return to useful citizenship every man and woman who has been warped by a dog-eat-dog social system.

Here again we shall require trained social workers. Our jail administrators, our wardens and other penal officers, will have to be skilled craftsmen, not retired politicians. Only people trained in modern methods of handling wrongdoers and interested in curing the ailment known as crime can do the job of reclaiming the human stuff that is now wasted in jails and penitentiaries.

III. EDUCATION and DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

A. EDUCATION

Here are five things which are wrong with the Saskatchewan educational system, and following them ten things which the C.C.F. will do to remedy them:

WHAT IS WRONG?

1. An ever increasing number of school districts in Saskatchewan are unable to finance their schools according to any satisfactory standard of educational provision. Money for school purposes comes in two ways: from taxes levied on land in the local school district, and from a Provincial Government grant. While the grant has remained more or less stationary, the income from taxation in rural school districts has fallen disastrously in recent years. Farm income has decreased enormously, and with it the collection of taxes. Consequently there is not enough money in many districts to maintain a school properly. Our system of educational finance is on the verge of collapse. The School Trustees Association has frequently discussed the problem but has found no solution under the present methods of school financing.



2. Many schools lack essential facilities in buildings and equipment. This follows from 1, above. Schools go unpainted and unrepaired; buildings fall into decay; furnaces and blackboards are not replaced, there is no money to spend on athletic equipment, school libraries, and teaching materials. Children go to school in depressing and unhealthy surroundings, and teachers have to do the best they can with inadequate tools.

3. Teachers are inadequately paid. The minimum salary (which too often has been the maximum) for teachers in Saskatchewan is \$700 per annum. Teaching is an occupation which requires knowledge, training, skill—and the talent of a diplomat! No other skilled work, except farming, is so poorly rewarded.

4. There is vast inequality of educational opportunity as between children in city and country, and even as between children in one school district and another. This is the result largely of the varying amounts of money available for educational purposes. Good soil, good weather, or good crops, in one district, and the opposite in another, will determine that one group of children shall have a warm, comfortable school with good equipment and another group have a chilly, broken-down school with poor equipment. This is obviously unfair to the second group of children.

The inequality and the unfairness are more marked still when we compare the educational chances of almost any rural child with those of the child in city or large town. The latter will have more experienced teachers, more access to books, more chance to complete a high school course, and a much greater chance to attend a Normal School, a college, or a vocational and technical school. Obviously we are allowing such potential ability among our children to go undeveloped and therefore unused.

5. The present courses of study, particularly the high school courses, do not prepare children adequately for the world into which they will go and try to make a living. Young people leave high school now, after apparently having been engaged in learning for twelve years, and discover that they know practically nothing about how the world is run. They do not know the conditions under which the means of life are made and distributed; they do not know how our main industries are organized, managed, and controlled; they do not know how the national income is divided or why it is so divided; they do not know the life of the people beyond their own community. Their knowledge of current affairs both in their own country and abroad is equally deplorable. Their schooling has not prepared them for the social and economic realities of **their** life, and consequently has given them little or no encouragement to become intelligent citizens.

WHAT WILL THE C.C.F. DO?

Provincial Responsibility. A C.C.F. Government will recognize the fact that providing educational opportunity for all children is the responsibility of the Province, and will so reorganize school administration

and finance as to increase expenditure on education, improve the school plant and equipment, and raise the teachers' salaries. The British North America Act, which is Canada's Constitution, makes education a **provincial**, not a **municipal** or **local** responsibility. All along the Provincial Government has been evading its duty; it has made grants to schools, outlined courses of study, and provided for inspection of schools, but it has left the main burden of maintaining school services upon the municipalities and the local school boards. The main burden does not belong there. A C.C.F. Government will accept the responsibility laid on it by our Constitution and take steps to provide adequate schooling for all children, irrespective of the part of the province they happen to live in.

This means that we shall have to spend more money on education. We cannot afford in a democracy to put education on rations. If we want to give our boys and girls an adequate chance to develop their talents and make their full contribution to society, we must be prepared to pay well for their training. We talk a great deal about the importance of developing our immense natural resources. But the most precious of a nation's natural resources are its children and young people. If we fail to give them opportunity for development, we are guilty of the most appalling waste. We neglect them at our peril.

2. **Larger Unit of Administration.** In the cities and towns of Saskatchewan, a large number of school rooms are under the administration of a single school board chosen by the citizens of the area concerned. This makes for efficiency, economy, and uniformity of educational service. In rural Saskatchewan, however, the usual pattern of administration is to have **one local school board** in charge of a **one-roomed school**. (In the hamlets and villages this may be increased to two or three rooms.) The fact that this small unit of administration has not been able to provide a very good educational service has led educationists and educational reformers to advocate for rural areas the **larger unit of administration** which is characteristic of urban areas. This would bring anywhere from 50 to 75 schools under the administration of a single board (democratically chosen by the citizens, of course). The belief of those who advocate this change is that by pooling the resources of a considerable area the citizens of that area can get a more efficient and more economical administration of their schools, can take advantage of bulk purchasing and servicing, and can ensure a uniform standard of schooling throughout the area or "division," as the larger unit is sometimes called. The entire province of Alberta is now organized for educational purposes into these larger units of school administration, and the result seems to be an all-round improvement in educational services.

In Saskatchewan we have on our statute books legislation which permits the setting up of larger units of school administration, if the people of any given area make a request for such a unit. The C.C.F. believes that we should do more than permit larger units; we should experiment with them and see if they will bring the good results in Saskatchewan which

they have apparently brought elsewhere. The C.C.F. believes that a progressive government should give encouragement and leadership to the setting up of some larger units, and a C.C.F. Government in Saskatchewan will immediately do this. The plan would be to set up units in areas where the people wished to have them, after educationists had explained to them the value and purpose of the larger unit and had answered any questions or objections they might have.

Conceivably, too, the larger unit of administration might solve the problem of high school education in rural areas. A large school division might find it possible to build a well-equipped high school with all the advantages of a city school, at a central point in the division, bring the boys and girls to this central point, and maintain them for the five-day school week in supervised and co-operatively managed dormitories attached to the school.

3. **Salary Schedule.** The C.C.F. believes that we can attract able men and women to the teaching profession, and can keep them in it, only if we pay them at least as well as we pay competent plumbers and bricklayers, not to mention beer store vendors. Not only should the present pitiful minimum of \$700 per annum be raised, but a salary schedule which would recognize teaching experience, educational qualifications, and proven ability should be drawn up and applied. Many teachers would not even object to a low starting-point if they were assured of salary advancement as they improved their academic or professional standing, acquired experience, and taught successfully. Now each teacher must bargain as best he (or she) can with a local school board intent, usually, on keeping down costs. A C.C.F. Government will introduce a salary schedule to improve the professional status and income of teachers and thereby improve the quality of instruction in the schools.

4. **Consultation with Teachers and Trustees.** The C.C.F. believes that the people engaged in teaching and the people engaged in administering schools have out of their experience a valuable contribution to make to the framing of educational policy and programs. The C.C.F. will therefore set up the necessary machinery for regular consultation between the Department of Education, on the one hand, and the Teachers' Associations and Trustees' Associations on the other.

5. **Health Services.** The C.C.F. will extend and improve the health services in the schools of the province. Schools in the cities of Saskatoon and Regina have doctors, dentists, and nurses to examine the children periodically, check developing ailments, and prescribe remedies. The schools outside the cities have the services of only a few public health nurses. This means that only a fraction of the school population can be examined each year, that much unnecessary sickness goes unchecked, and both the children's health and education suffer.

6. **Free Textbooks and Supplies.** The purchase of textbooks and supplies for school children is sometimes a heavy burden on the purses of their parents; and failure to get a full set of books is sometimes a handicap to children of financially embarrassed parents. The C.C.F. will remove this obstacle to equal educational opportunity by providing free textbooks and supplies throughout the school system. This will also do away with the protests sometimes raised by parents when new textbooks are introduced into the school courses.

7. **Special Training.** In any group of school children there are, unfortunately, a number who are below the average in mental ability and who therefore cannot profit from the usual course of school studies. Indeed the usual course of school studies only discourages these children and makes them dislike all learning. Without a congenial interest or activity, they are only too likely to get into trouble, become problems in their communities, and perhaps drift into vagrancy and crime. But these children can grow up into useful citizens if they are provided with the kind of instruction suited to their capacities. They need special classes and teachers especially trained to guide them. The C.C.F. will provide special classes and teachers for these children.

8. **Higher Education.** Just as there are children of below-average ability in every community, so there are usually some children of above-average ability who ought to have a chance to secure a University education. Only too often these children are denied this chance because their parents cannot afford to send them to college. The C.C.F. maintains that every young person who has the mental ability and the desire to learn ought to have a chance to go to college, irrespective of his parents' income, and the C.C.F. will make this financially possible.

9. **Adult Education.** The C.C.F. proposes to extend the facilities for adult education so that those adults who have a desire to supplement their formal schooling may have a chance to do so.

10. **Curriculum Revision.** The C.C.F. proposes to revise the school curriculum so that the material of school studies may prepare students adequately for intelligent participation in the life of their community and not, as now, inadequately for a University to which the majority will never go. The job of the school is to equip the child with the information and attitudes for co-operative living with his fellows in the modern world. G. D. H. Cole, in a recent lecture before the Fabian Society of Great Britain, has made a good list of the essential educational equipment of the contemporary citizen. His list includes (1) an understanding of the principles of modern science; (2) an ability to perform elementary mathematical feats; (3) a reasonable facility in both writing and speaking good English; (4) a degree of machine-mindedness, "so as to be capable of doing a whack of productive work if the need arises"; (5) a fair working knowledge of the political, social, and economic structure of contemporary society. The rest—history, literature, and the arts—he says, should arise out of these basic studies and be related to them.

B. DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

Only a society in which all the growing citizens have equal chances to get the education suited to their capacities, and in which the young are urged to make the best of their abilities and prepare themselves for intelligent citizenship, can call itself a democracy. Democracy thrives on free discussion, on tolerance, on the freedom of all to choose law makers and governors. In democratic schools the young will learn that it is their privilege to take part in choosing their law makers, their duty to discuss the affairs of the nation and to be critical of error or injustice, and their right to hold and express their own social, political, and religious views. The C.C.F. stands for Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Elections, Freedom of Religion, because these are the essence of democratic liberty.

Freedom of Speech. Under a C.C.F. Government all citizens will be free to express their views in speech and publication without fear of either legal penalty or economic discrimination. This will include the freedom to criticize the Government.

Freedom of Elections. The C.C.F. believes that the people at regular intervals should choose those whom they wish to conduct their affairs and that there should be no interference with anyone's right to vote as he sees fit. C.C.F. Conventions have regularly expressed the view that elections should be held at stated intervals and at stated times of the year, as in the United States, instead of whenever a Government in power thinks it most politically advantageous to call an election. C.C.F. conventions have also approved the use of the single transferable ballot to insure that a member elected to any governmental body shall have a clear majority over his opponents and not merely the largest number of votes cast.

Freedom of Religion. The C.C.F. believes that a man's religion is his own affair, and that he should not be compelled to support any religious establishment, and that he should have complete freedom to espouse and propagate any religious views he chooses. The C.C.F. welcomes to its ranks people of many and diverse religious views, believing that in a society of economic and social justice for all, religious tolerance is most likely to flourish.

IV. PLANNING, PUBLIC OWNERSHIP, and FINANCE

The provision of security, for both rural and urban dwellers, as described in Section 1, is largely a matter of appropriate legislative action and will involve little in the way of governmental expenditure. But social services and educational services, as described in Sections II and III, will cost money. Where is the money to come from? How will a C.C.F. Government in Saskatchewan finance its program?



The first thing to recognize is that everything we get—food, clothing, shelter, health, education, security, etc.—is paid for by work. The only means of paying for anything, the only wealth there is comes from the labor of men and women applied to natural resources, that is, to land, water, forests, and mines. In Saskatchewan a tremendous amount of wealth has been produced in this way since the formation of the province in 1905. Thousands of men and women in the province have applied their labor to natural resources and have produced wealth. But what have they to show for their work? At the end of forty years they have the debt burden described in Section I, the scanty social services described in Section II, and the deteriorating educational services described in Section III. They have done the work, but somebody else has secured most of the wealth.

In short, the lion's share of the wealth of the province has been stolen from the people who produced it. This must cease. No program of reform is worth the paper it is written on unless it provides for keeping this wealth within the province. The C.C.F. maintains that our natural resources must henceforth be developed in the public interest and for the public benefit. They cannot continue to be exploited in a hit-and-miss manner for the benefit of promoters, investors, and absentee capitalists. The C.C.F. stands for the planned development of the economic life of the province and the social ownership of natural resources.

A. PLANNING

The C.C.F. believes that now is the time to begin planning for post-war reconstruction. Thousands of men and women, at present in the armed forces and in war-time industry, will be looking for constructive work in civilian occupations as soon as the war is over. Responsible governmental bodies ought to be making plans to provide this constructive peace-time work. They ought to have been doing it long ago. In the 1941 Session of the Saskatchewan Legislature the C.C.F. group of Members introduced a resolution that "the Government should consider the advisability of at once setting up a Board to plan for post-war reconstruction," and in the subsequent debate on the resolution pointed out that our sister-province of Manitoba had already set up a Board of planning experts for this purpose. The Government of Saskatchewan, however, rejected the resolution.

The 1943 C.C.F. Convention devoted much consideration to this matter of post-war planning, and embodied its conclusions in a resolution which reads, in part, as follows:

"That this Convention go on record in recommending the following necessary steps to assure the essentials of life and happiness:

- 1. Adequate housing for the thousands of families that are now living in slum areas and in crowded tenements in our cities and that this program also include the rehousing of our citizens in the rural**

areas; and that our natural resources be developed to the fullest extent to bring this about.

2. The development of the vast north land so that the tremendous wealth in lumber, minerals and water power which now lies undeveloped, be brought into full production by the establishment of commercial airlines, owned and controlled by the people and operated by the trained pilots, aircraftsmen and mechanics who will return from this war and who desire to continue aviation as a career.
3. Extended training courses for the thousands of men and women who are now serving in industrial plants and in the Armed Forces with a view to developing their skill to a standard of efficiency which will enable them to make the fullest possible contribution to the building of the new world."

These measures for planned post-war reconstruction should be the prelude to permanent peace-time planning of the economic life of our province in the public interest. We must proceed to the public development and public ownership of our natural resources.

B. PUBLIC OWNERSHIP



The first thing to do here is to find out exactly what we have in the way of natural resources. We need a survey and a stocktaking conducted by geologists, chemists, engineers and other specialists. There is much windy talk at public banquets about "our vast mineral wealth" and "our immense natural resources," but nobody seems to know definitely what these phrases mean or else nobody who knows wants to tell. The C.C.F. members of the Legislature have tried repeatedly to get information about the development that has taken place and about the value of the production, but their requests have always been denied. They have asked questions about mineral wealth, forestry products, petroleum products, natural gas, tar, creosote, sodium sulphate, clay bentonites, etc.

Clearly the first thing to do, then, is to find out what we have in coal, clay, mineral, water-power, oil, and timber resources within the province, and what are the possibilities of their immediate development. Having obtained this information from competent geologists and other experts, a C.C.F. Government will proceed to develop these resources under public ownership. This will be done not under the direction of Government Departments but under Public Commissions (along the lines of the Saskatchewan Power Commission or the Saskatchewan Liquor Board) especially established to have charge of a given phase of economic development.

The C.C.F. wants no day-to-day control of or interference with public ownership by Government officials. Competent people will be appointed to the various Public Commissions or Boards and entrusted with the job

of organizing a given industry. These Commissioners will engage the experts, the managers, the superintendents and other essential personnel, and these in turn will have charge of the details of production. The various Commissions will, of course, make full and detailed reports of their progress to the Government periodically; and the people's representatives in the Legislature will consider and discuss the reports. Lines of policy will be laid down by the Legislature; the details of organization and administration will be the responsibility of those with specialized training, competence, and experience. Those undertaking these responsibilities will be paid adequate salaries for their work; the earnings of the Public Commissions will go to provide social, educational, and other essential services to all the people of the province.

This was the pattern of development recommended by C.C.F. members of the Legislature when the Government of Saskatchewan set up an Industrial Development Board in 1939, ostensibly to develop and natural resources of the province. The C.C.F. Members sought to amend the Bill establishing the Industrial Development Board in this way:

"provided that the said Bill be so amended as to include the principle of direct governmental development of Natural Resources, and operation and/or control of industries either by the Board itself or by other boards or commissions set up by and under the provisions of the Industrial Development Board Act, 1939."

C. FINANCING THE C.C.F. PROGRAM

The following ways of financing its program will be open to a C.C.F. Government in Saskatchewan:

1. It can press for Federal aid for increased old age pensions, education, and health services. It is generally recognized now, if Confederation is to continue and Canadian unity is to be realized, there will have to be a redistribution of income between the Federal and Provincial Governments to enable the Provinces to maintain and expand essential services.

2. It can—and surely will—save money by the elimination of graft and inefficiency in the public service. A C.C.F. Government will give the Province honest and efficient administration. It will engage competent employees and dismiss superfluous employees. It will establish a non-partisan civil service in accordance with the pledge given at the C.C.F. Provincial Convention of 1939:

"The C.C.F. pledges itself to remove party patronage from the public services of Canada. While recognizing that heads of commissions, Deputy Ministers, etc., must be in agreement with the policy of the Government and should therefore be Government appointments, all other Civil Service appointments should be, and under a C.C.F. Government, will be, placed under the control of a non-political Commission."

3. It can refuse to pay the high interest charges currently levied to service the provincial debt. The carrying charges on this debt have risen from \$2,836,000 in 1926 to \$7,872,000 in 1942, and the interest rates run up to 6%. Approximately 48% of the provincial revenue now goes to pay debt charges. If the provincial debt were to be refunded at a much lower rate of interest, say 2%, a large sum of money would be released for expenditure on the social services, etc.

4. A C.C.F. Government can obtain revenue from the wholesale distribution of petroleum products. In 1940 the C.C.F. Legislative Group proposed, for the purpose of financing education, the setting up of a Governmental Fuel and Petroleum Board to handle the wholesaling of gasoline and fuel oils. Why should the earnings from this source go to monopolistic oil companies rather than to the people of the province who use the products and make the earnings possible?

5. A C.C.F. Government can obtain revenue from the further development of electrical power distribution.

6. A C.C.F. Government can obtain revenue from the wholesale distribution of other staple commodities, say food or machinery, along the lines indicated above for petroleum products.

7. A C.C.F. Government can raise money from the development of natural resources under public ownership, as outlined in Section B above. It might begin with the coal industry and the lumber industry, and proceed to develop the other natural resources as quickly as the necessary information could be obtained and the necessary plans made.

The C.C.F. has always recognized that it is not constitutionally possible to set up a complete co-operative commonwealth within the boundaries of a single province. There are, however, certain very definite powers vested in a Provincial Government by the Constitution of Canada. The C.C.F. in Saskatchewan intends to use these powers to carry the Province as far as possible forward to the realization of the aim set out in the Regina Manifesto of July, 1933:

"We aim to replace the present capitalist system with its inherent injustice and inhumanity by a social order from which the domination and exploitation of one class by another will be eliminated; in which economic planning will supersede unregulated private enterprise and competition; and in which genuine democratic self-government based on economic equality will be possible."

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